



NUMISMATIC PARALLELS  
OF  
KĀLIDĀSA

C. SIVARAMAMURTI

Illustrations by  
C. SIVARAMAMURTI



KANAK PUBLICATIONS  
NEW DELHI INDIA

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*First Published 1945*

*Reprint 1983*

PRINTED IN INDIA

Published by Jayant Baxi for Kanak Publications, 16F/3 Ansari Road,  
New Delhi 110 002 and printed at The New Statesman Press, 13 Rani Jhansi  
Road, New Delhi-110 055

*To my friend*

DR. V.S. AGRAWALA, M.A., LL.B., PH.D.

*to whom I owe my inspiration to study  
Kālidāsa from the archaeologist's view-point.*



## FOREWORD

Mr. Sivaramamurti, the talented Curator of the Madras Museum, has been concentrating his attention on various aspects of Kālidāsa's poetic and dramatic achievements. Not only was Kālidāsa a supreme delineator of the play of human character and motive but he was an expert in the creation of dramatic situations. Above all, he was an unrivalled exponent in Sanskrit of every type of poetic rhythm and melody ranging in subject from simple and crystal-clear historical narrative to the elaborate description of natural phenomena and the moods of the human spirit. His *Meghasandesa* is perhaps the most perfect example, in all literature, of verbal felicity. It was not only as a poet and dramatist that Kālidāsa was distinguished but, as is evident from the studies of Mr. Sivaramamurti, he, like all artists, inspired succeeding generations not only in his own chosen field but in other realms of thought as well.

Mr. Sivaramamurti has, in addition to a study of the unique Amaravati sculptures in the Madras Museum, written on sculpture as inspired by Kālidāsa as well as the epigraphical echoes of the poet. The present volume deals with Numismatical aspects and he seeks to provide examples to the reader of pictorial and poetic features of various

stanzas. Some of the parallels indicated in the study, as in the cases of *Kakapaksha* and the picture of the King seated on a couch with a lyre on his lap, are not only ingenious but convincing.

I wish the author all success in his literary and archaeological efforts.

C.P. RAMASWAMI AIYAR

## CONTENTS

	Page
Foreword by Sachivottama Dr. Sir C.P.	
Ramaswami Aiyar, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., LL.D. ...	vii
Abbreviations ... ..	xi
Numismatic Parallels of Kālidāsa—	
Introductory ... ..	1
Earth, Cow of Plenty ... ..	1
Only Unrivalled Bowman ... ..	5
Only Umbrella aloft ... ..	7
Sidelocks still ... ..	9
Fame travels afar ... ..	11
Whom the Goddess of the Capital City and Royal Fortune chose ... ..	13
Truly wedded by the Queen and Lady of Fortune ... ..	15
Abode of both the Goddesses of Learning and Fortune ... ..	17
The Three Emblems of Royalty ... ..	18
Riding the Elephant and shaded by Parasol ... ..	19
Like Guha seated on Peacock ... ..	21
Mighty like the Wielder of the Thunderbolt ... ..	23
Mighty like the Lion ... ..	24
Beautiful in his Warrior Pose ... ..	27



Lustrous like the Sun	...	...	...	29
Wins Heaven by Deeds of Merit			...	30
Horse Sacrifice	...	...	...	33
With the Lyre on the Lap		...	..	35
Sportive Lotus in Hand	...	...	...	36
Bedecked and lovely like the Kalpadruma mirrored on the shining slopes of Meru			...	37
Like the Young Calf developed into the mighty Bull or Lordly Elephant			...	39
List of Illustrations	...	...	...	42
Index	..	...	...	49

## ABBREVIATIONS

Cat. Ind. Coins, Cat. Coins Andhra Dyn. Ksatra Traikūt. Bodhi Dyn.	Catalogue of Indian Coins in the British Museum, Catalogue of Coins of the Andhra Dynasty, the Western Ksatrapas, the Traikūtaka Dynasty and the Bodhi Dynasty by E. J. Rapson, London, 1908.
Cat. Ind. Coins, Cat. Coins Ancient Ind.	Catalogue of Indian Coins in the British Museum, Catalogue of Coins of Ancient India by John Allan, London, 1936.
Cat. Ind. Coins, Cat. Coins Gupta Dyn.	Catalogue of Indian Coins in the British Museum, Catalogue of Coins of the Gupta Dynasties and of Śasāṅka, King of Gauda by John Allan, London, 1914.
Cat. Coins, Ind. Mus. I.	Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, including the Cabinet of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. I, by Vincent A. Smith, Oxford, 1906.
Coins S. Ind.	Coins of Southern India (Inter- national Numismata Orient- alia III, Part 2), by W. Elliot, 1883.
C. Inscr. Ind. III.	Corpus Inscriptionum Indi- carum Volum III, Inscrip- tions of the Early Gupta Kings and their Successors by J.F. Fleet, Calcutta, 1888.

Epigraph. Ind. VIII.

Raghu.

Rāma.

Sāk.

Epigraphia Indica, Volume VIII  
Calcutta, 1905-06.

Raghuvamśa by Kālidāsa

Rāmāyana by Vālmiki

Abhijñāna-Śākuntalam by Kāli-  
dāsa.

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- 38 Viṣṇupadadīkesantastuti, New Delhi, 1981
- 39 Viṣṇusahasranama, New Delhi, 1978





वागर्थाविव संपृक्तौ वागर्थप्रतिपत्तये ।

जगतः पितरौ वन्दे पार्वतीपरमेश्वरौ ॥<sup>1</sup> Raghu I. 1

<sup>1</sup>To understand properly words and their meanings I bow to Pārvātī and Parameśvara, the parents of the universe, who are closely united like a word and its meaning.

## Numismatic Parallels of Kālidāsa

The use of metallic coin as currency has a long antiquity. The earliest punch-marked coins of India bear figures that have been classified and have engaged the assiduous attention of numismatists in India and abroad. The early tribal coins and various other die-struck and cast coins have also many interesting features on them that offer themselves for study. Every figure struck or marked on a coin has been done deliberately with a purpose and has some function to serve, some meaning to connote. In one form or other it is always some exalted quality or admirable power of the sovereign that is emphasised in all these suggestive figures on the coins and the inspiration of classical poets has its stamp. Some of these offer themselves for interpretation in the light of some literary parallels from Kālidāsa's compositions.

*Earth, Cow of Plenty*—Of the early tribal coins that of Amoghabhūti (Fig. 1) is an example. The coin presents a cow and beside it a lady standing. The sense of this is not clear. The why and wherefore of the presence of the animal and a lady beside it is not understood till we read a line of Kālidāsa that refers to Pṛthvī or the earth as Gorūpadharā or in the form of a cow, with four oceans as her udder meaning thereby a mighty expanse of empire reaching the oceans. We know from





Fig. 1. Along the margin राज्ञः कुनिदस अमोघभूतिस महाराजस

inscriptions that it was the ambition of every king to rule the earth up to the shores of the oceans and the Mathurā inscription of Candragupta II and many other Gupta and later inscriptions say:

चतुर्दशिसलिलास्वादित्यशसः<sup>2</sup> C. Inscr. Ind. III, p. 26

This makes it clear that the expanse of earth bounded by the four oceans was the ideal limit of the empire that every king aspired for; almost always kings in their limited territories styled themselves as ruling a realm extending to the seas. Now the coin of the Kuṇinda Amoghabhūti suggests his unfailing fortune symbolised by the cow of plenty with the lady beside it suggesting Pṛthvī or earth personified who assumed the form of a cow. And Kālidāsa's line

पयोधरीभूतचतुःसमुद्रां जुगोप गोरूपधरामिबोर्वीम्<sup>3</sup> Raghu II. 3

gives us an explanation of the figure on the coin. Another line

दुदोह गां स यज्ञाय<sup>4</sup> Raghu I. 26

is also suggestive of the same thought. The king's protection and care for his country is conveyed thus with great force.

In considering this we have to take into account the numerous tribal coins of India of the time of the Christian era wherein a cow is figured beside

<sup>2</sup> Whose fame has tasted the water of the four oceans.

<sup>3</sup> He protected her like the Earth in the form of a cow with the four oceans as her udder with four teats.

<sup>4</sup> He milked Earth of her resources for performing sacrifices.

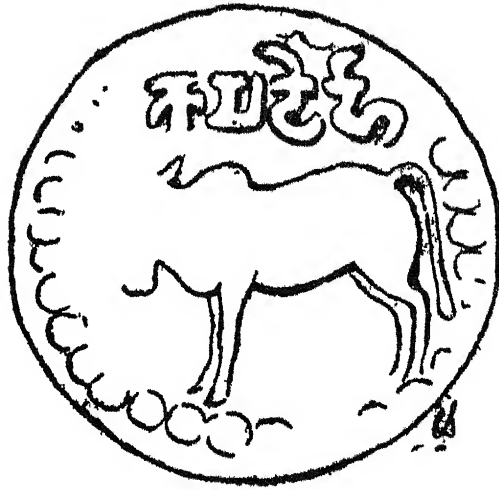


Fig 2. Above कामदेहि



Fig. 3. Along the margin राजो गोतमीपुत्रस विक्रिवायकुरस

a tree in railing or back to back on obverse or reverse. The cow can easily be understood as the cow of plenty and the tree as the Kalpataru or the wish-fulfilling tree.

आसीत् कल्पतरुच्छायामाश्रिता सुरभिः पथि<sup>5</sup> Raghu I. 75

That the cow was not a mere animal for the supply of milk and that she was venerated as the very embodiment of Kāmaduhā, *i.e.*, yielding all that was desired, is the vein of thought current in India of that time and Kālidāsa voices this appropriately in his line

न केवलानां पयसां प्रसूतिमवेहि मां कामदुधां प्रसन्नाम्<sup>6</sup> Raghu II. 63

and one of the early coins of Nepal belonging to Amśuvarman (Fig. 2) presents visually the last quarter of this verse of Kālidāsa giving the significant appellation to the cow on the obverse of the coin कामदेहि.<sup>7</sup>

*Only Unrivalled Bowman*—On one of the Sātavāhana coins, a single large bow is found mark on the obverse. The coin is of one of the most remarkable kings in Indian History, Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi. (Fig. 3). The figure naturally leads us on to the question of what it connotes. The answer is to be sought in the line of the famous inscription of Balasiri the mother of Gautamīputra, who gifted an

<sup>5</sup> On the way the cow Surabhi was enjoying the shade of the Kalpa tree.

<sup>6</sup> I am not merely a source of milk, but when pleased understand that I can fulfil all wishes.

<sup>7</sup> Fulfilling all desires.

अथ यथा यथा

Fig. 4 एकधनुषरस



Fig. 5 Along the margin

क्षितिमवजित्य सुचीर [तैर्दिव जयति विक्रमादित्यः]

excavated cave to Buddhist monks at Nasik and recorded the donation. The praśasti here is one of the noblest in Indian epigraphy. There is a long glowing description of the noble qualities of Gautamīputra recounted by the fond mother Balasiri sorrowing for her great son during the reign of her grandson Vasiṣṭhīputra Puṣumāvi, worthy son of Gautamīputra. A line in this praśasti (Fig. 4) describes Gautamīputra Satakarṇi as

एकघनुघरस<sup>8</sup> Epigraph. Ind. VIII, p. 66

He had no rival bowman on earth. In describing Dilīpa, Kālidāsa uses the identical in his verse

न केवल तद्गुरुरेकपाथिवः क्षितावमूदेकघनुर्घरोऽपि सः ॥<sup>9</sup> Raghu III. 31

The sense of the coin is thus made clear in unequivocal terms; and like the hieroglyphics of Egypt there is the picture suggesting all the sense that is sought to be conveyed. Further, as it is strung and arrow fitted on it, it also conveys the sense in the verse of Kālidāsa describing the might of Dilīpa.

न हीष्टमस्य त्रिदिवेऽपि भूपतेरभूदनासाध्यमधिज्यघन्वनः<sup>10</sup> Raghu III. 6

*Only Umbrella aloft*—The great ambition of every Indian king has ever been to subdue every contemporary prince and rule an empire with a royal umbrella raised aloft over his head alone, denying this privilege to every other prince. This ambition

<sup>8</sup> The only bowman.

<sup>9</sup> His father was not only the only sovereign on earth but was also the only bowman.

<sup>10</sup> There was nothing which was unobtainable to that king even in heaven when he tightened the string of his bow.



Fig. 6 Along the margin  
राजो गोतमीपुतस सिरिमन्सातकणिस



Fig. 7. Along the margin  
. णस गोतमीपुतस हिर यञ्ज हातकणिस

of sovereignty of a single parasol एकच्छत्राधिपत्य<sup>11</sup> has caused all the wars that history records and life has been counted as nothing by kings and emperors in achieving of this object. A prize so coveted should naturally be expected to be properly displayed. And how best can it be shown except as it is given on one of the Gupta coins? Candragupta II, the great emperor, is shown standing and a vāmana dwarf attendant raises an umbrella over his head (Fig. 5). No greater significance can there be in this figure than that conveyed by Kālidāsa in his lines

एकातपत्रां भुवमेकवीरः पुरागलादीर्घभुजौ बुभोज<sup>12</sup> Raghu XVIII. 4  
and

एकातपत्रं जगतः प्रभुत्वं नव वयः कान्तमिदं वपुश्च<sup>13</sup> Raghu II. 47

The might and majesty of the sovereign as given in the line

सालप्राशुर्नहाभुज<sup>14</sup> Raghu I 13

is sought to be conveyed with emphasis by showing the king standing, a vāmana attendant being specially chosen to lift so lofty a parasol for contrast.

*Sidelocks still*—On some coins of Gautamīputra Yajña Sātakarṇi is imprinted on the obverse a youthful head with sidelocks known as kākapakṣa.

<sup>11</sup> Sovereignty of a single parasol.

<sup>12</sup> That only hero with arms long like the bolt of a city-gate enjoyed the earth on which was raised only a single umbrella.

<sup>13</sup> Sovereignty of the earth with only a single umbrella raised on it, youth and this lovely body.

<sup>14</sup> Tall like the Sāl tree and with lengthy arms.



(Fig. 6). The sidelocks were the special characteristics of the mode of hair-dressing for princes in their youth in ancient India. In the Rāmāyaṇa, Rāma, when he sallied forth with Viśvāmitra to save his sacrifice from the disturbance of evil demons, is described as the wearer of sidelocks.

विश्वमित्रो ययावन्ने ततो रामो महायशाः

काकपक्षधरो धन्वी त च सौमित्रिरन्वगात् ॥<sup>15</sup> Rāma. I 12, 6

A Gupta sculpture of exquisite elegance preserved in the Bhārat Kalā Bhavan at Benares similarly shows kākapakṣa for the child warrior Kārtikeya who still wears the juvenile adornment, the tiger's claws. The figure of the coin shows the kākapakṣa characteristic of princely youth but its significance is understood only from the verses of Kālidāsa.

कौशिकेन स किल क्षितीश्वरो राममध्वरविघातशान्तये ।

काकपक्षधरमेत्य याचितस्तेजसां हि न वयः समीक्ष्यते ॥<sup>16</sup>

Raghu XI. 1

and मणौ महानील इति प्रभावादल्पप्रामणोऽपि यथा न मिथ्या ।

शब्दो महाराज इति प्रतीतस्तथैव तस्मिन् युयुजेऽर्भकेपि ॥

पर्यन्तसञ्चारितचामरस्य कपोललोभयकाकपक्षात् ।

तस्याननादुच्चरितो विवादश्चस्त्राल वेलास्वपि नार्णवानाम् ॥<sup>17</sup>

Raghu XVIII. 42, 43

<sup>15</sup> Viśvāmitra went in advance, then Rāma of great renown, wearing sidelocks and carrying his bow; the son of Sumitrā followed him.

<sup>16</sup> The king was approached by Kauśika and requested to send Rāma to remove the obstacles to his sacrifices when he was still wearing sidelocks as age is of no consideration in the case of the powerful.

<sup>17</sup> Just as the appellation Mahānīla cannot be false in the case of even a small sapphire by its splendour, so the renowned title Maharaja befitted him even though he was but a child.

In the light of this we understand that though still Yajña Sātakarṇi is in his youth his prowess and power is very great and his tender age suggested by his sidelocks should not underrate his might.

*Fame travels afar.*—On the reverse of the coin just mentioned (Fig. 7) and also on the coins of the Western-Kṣatrapas like Dāmasena (Fig. 8) and others there are symbols whose meaning is obscure. It is clear enough to make out the individual symbols but the connotation of the group as such is not clear. On the coins of Gautamīputra Yajña Sātakarṇi there are what is called the Ujjain symbol by Numismatists, a symbol of caitya or more correctly a hill surmounted by a crescent, a star, and a zigzag symbol connoting river or stream as it is believed. On the coins of the Kṣatrapas Rudradāma, Dāmasena, Viradāma and others the Ujjain symbol is not present. The connotation of this is clear from the verse of Kālidāsa describing the spread of the fame of Raghu.

ग्राहृदमद्रीनुदधीन् वित्तीर्णं भुजङ्गमानौ वसति प्रविष्टम् ।

ऊर्ध्वं गतं यस्य न चानुबन्धि यशः परिच्छेत्तुमियत्तयालम् ॥<sup>18</sup>

Raghu VI. 77

Fame has always been regarded in India as white in colour and has always been compared to the

Word of command coming from his mouth, on whose cheeks were waving the two sidelocks and beside whom chauries were waved, never failed even on the shores of the oceans.

<sup>18</sup> His fame ascended mountains, crossed the oceans, entered the abode of the snakes (Pātāla), went up to heaven, and being still expansive was too much to be measured by any standard.

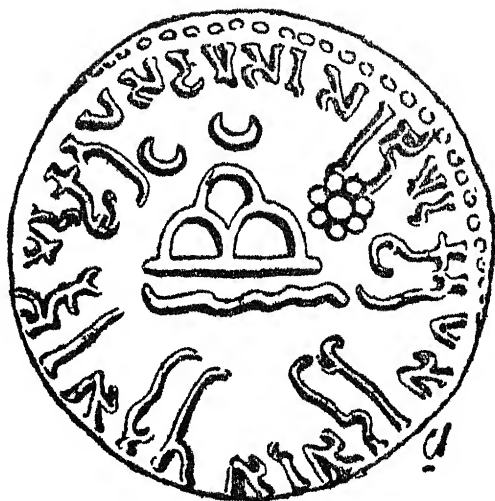


Fig. 8. Along the margin

राज्ञो महाक्षत्रपस रुद्रसीहस पुत्रस राज्ञो महाक्षत्रपस दामसेनस



Fig. 9. Along the margin

मनगुलस छत्रपस पुत्रस छत्रपस [जि] हुनि [अस]

moon. This accounts for the presentation of the moon above the hill as in no otherwise can an abstract object like fame be represented. The line आरूढमद्रीन्<sup>19</sup> is thereby substantiated. The rest of the line उदधीन् वित्तीर्णम्<sup>20</sup> and भुजङ्गमानां वसति प्रविष्टम्<sup>21</sup> is suggested by the zigzag line which represents water, the mightiest expanse of which is the ocean; and the zigzag also conveniently symbolises the snake or bhujaṅga whose dwelling is in the deep and down below. The heavens can be represented only by the stars and the symbol of the star clearly points to that sphere where fame travelled and substantiates the line ऊर्ध्वं गतम्<sup>22</sup> The line

चतुर्दिगावर्जितसंभृतां यो मृत्पात्रशेषामकरोद्विभूतिम्<sup>23</sup> Raghu VI 76.

from the immediately preceding verse explains the Ujjain symbol. The symbol has four arms pointing to the four directions and the four circles at the cardinal points point to kosas treasures that the ruler enjoys from the maṇḍalas from the four quarters. Mr. T.N. Ramachandran makes an excellent suggestion, that the Ujjain symbol may denote the four oceans crossed by Fame.

*Whom the Goddess of the Capital City and Royal Fortune chose—Among the coins of the Indo-Parthians there is one of the Satrap Jihunia or*

<sup>19</sup> Ascended mountains.

<sup>20</sup> Crossed oceans.

<sup>21</sup> Entered the abode of snakes.

<sup>22</sup> Went up to heaven.

<sup>23</sup> Who made the wealth acquired from the four quarters have just a residue of an earthen pot.

Zeonises of Taxila (Fig. 9) in which on the reverse the Satrap is shown standing facing a goddess who carries a cornucopia in her left hand and crowns him with a wreath held in her right hand. Dr. Vincent Smith has suggested that this is probably a representation of the Fortune of a vanquished city. We know that in one of the Gupta inscriptions Lakṣmī is described as having chosen the king in question as her lord.

व्यपेत्य सर्वान् मनुजेन्द्रपुत्रान् लक्ष्मीः स्वयं यं वरयाञ्चकार<sup>24</sup>

C. Inscr. Ind. III, p. 59

Does it not remind one of similar ideas repeated so often by Kālidāsa

भेजेऽभिसारिकावृत्तिं जयश्रीर्वीरगामिनी<sup>25</sup> Raghu. XVII. 69

आसीदतिशयप्रेक्ष्यः स राज्यश्रीवधूवरः<sup>26</sup> Raghu. XVII. 25

नरेन्द्रमूलायतनादनन्तरं तदास्पदं श्रीं युवराजसंज्ञितम् ।

अगच्छदशेन गुणाभिलाषिणी नवावतारं कमलादिवोत्पलम् ॥<sup>27</sup>

Raghu III. 36

उपात्तविद्यं विधिवद्गुरुभ्यस्तं यौवनोद्भेदविशेषकान्तम् ।

श्रीः साभिलाषापि गुरोरनुज्ञां धीरेव कन्या पितुराचकाङ्क्ष ॥<sup>28</sup>

Raghu V. 38

<sup>24</sup> Whom Lakṣmī herself chose discarding all other princes.

<sup>25</sup> The goddess of victory who resorts to heroes chose the attitude of the female lover meeting her lover at the place of tryst.

<sup>26</sup> That bridegroom of the bride Royal Fortune appeared most beautiful to look at.

<sup>27</sup> The goddess of Royal Fortune, being fond of virtues, partially transferred herself to her abode styled yuvarāja from her original abode, the king, as Śrī goes to a new-born lotus from an old one

<sup>28</sup> Royal Fortune though in love with that prince who had received education appropriately from his preceptors and was then most charming by the freshness of youth, yet waited for her sovereign's consent as a noble daughter awaits her father's consent.

Also the description of the Goddess of the City of Ayodhyā coming and wooing her lord Kuśa that caused great joy among the learned Brāhmaṇas assembled in the king's court

तद्भुत ससदि रात्रिवृत्ता प्रातर्द्विजेभ्यो नृपतिः शशंस ।

श्रुत्वा त एत कुलराजधान्या साक्षात्पतित्वे वृतमभ्यनन्दन् ॥<sup>29</sup>

Raghu XVI 24

has a picturesque effect about it which is best appreciated by a look at this coin where either Rājyalakṣmī or the Fortune of a City woos the valorous king as her lord.

*Truly wedded by the Queen and Lady of Fortune—*

On the coins of Candragupta I there is a rare representation. It is the presence of the king and queen on the obverse. (Fig. 10). The king is generally represented on coins, the queen never gets her figure so imprinted. This is hence a very interesting type. Candragupta took pride in his Licchavi alliance and the princess of that family who gave him dignity was pictured along with him on his coin. On the reverse is Lakṣmī, or Śrī with her feet resting on lotus carrying the horn of plenty, cornucopia, and seated on lion signifying thereby that she is on śimhāsana and is Rājyalakṣmī. In her right hand is a noose the instrument of daṇḍa or punishment and in her left the cornucopia, the receptacle of kośa or treasure and remind us of Kālidāsa's descriptions Kṣīti or Prthvī.

<sup>29</sup> In the morning the king narrated to Brāhmaṇas in his assembly this wonderful incident of the night; and hearing that he was chosen as her husband by his hereditary capital herself they all congratulated him.



Fig 10. Obverse—on left margin कुमारदेवी  
on either side of standard चन्द्र and गुप्त  
Reverse—on right margin लिच्छवयः



Fig. 11. Obverse—above यम beneath couch घ  
Reverse—on right margin श्रीनरन्द्रादित्य

सुतावसूत संपन्नौ कोशदण्डाविव क्षितिः<sup>30</sup> Raghu. XV 13

The coin as a whole is in the fullest sense intended to convey the spirit of Kālidāsa's ideal of the principal queens of a king as given in his verse

कलत्रवन्तमात्मानमवरोधे महत्यपि ।

तया मेने मनस्विन्या लक्ष्म्या च वसुधाधिपः ॥<sup>31</sup> Raghu. I. 32

The principal queen and the lady of Royal Fortune were the two by whom the king considered himself a wedded man and the two are clearly represented; and the lady in flesh and blood being the manasvini is shown in closer contact with the king being present on the same side opposite him. In the king and queen type of coin of Skandagupta this is repeated, Lakṣmī on the reverse being seated on lotus on this coin and carrying the lotus in her left in the place of the cornucopia, the lotus being symbolic of the Padmanidhi, one of the nine principal treasures.

*Abode of both the Goddesses of Learning and Fortune*—A coin from Jessore which has not yet been definitely attributed to any Gupta monarch but which is tentatively given under the coins of Saśāṅka (Fig. 11) bears very interesting figures on both the obverse and reverse and on the latter the legend नरेन्द्रादित्यः.<sup>32</sup> On the obverse the king is

<sup>30</sup> She gave birth to two illustrious sons as the Earth produces a full treasure and army complete in every respect.

<sup>31</sup> Though his harem abounded in damsels, it is by that noble queen and the goddess of Royal Fortune that the king considered himself truly wedded.

<sup>32</sup> The Sun among kings.



shown seated on a lion throne attended by two ladies. On the reverse goddess Lakṣmī stands with lotus in her hand and surrounded by lotuses in bud and bloom beside her; in front of her near feet is a swan. To correctly understand this coin one has only to see the verse of Kālidāsa giving Sunandā's description of the prince of Aṅga who was at once the abode of the goddess of Prosperity and of Learning

निसर्गभिन्नास्पदमेकसस्थमस्मिन् द्वयं श्रीश्च सरस्वती च ।

कान्त्या गिरा सूनृतया च योग्या त्वमेव कल्याणि तयोस्त्रितीया ॥<sup>33</sup>

Raghu. VI. 29

The reverse explains the second half of the verse wherein Sunandā asks princess Indumatī to be his third spouse along with the other two goddesses as she was well fitted by her sweet address and beauty of form. The lotuses and the swan symbolise beauty and sweet address: and through the figure of the goddess there is the suggestion that the form of the queen is comparable to that of the goddess of Royal Fortune herself.

*The Three Emblems of Royalty*—On the coins of Rājendra, the great Coḷa Emperor son of Rājarāja the Great and the builder of that mighty edifice, the temple of Siva at Gaṅgaakoṇḍacoḷapuram, verily a lyric in stone, is found the emblem of the Colas, the tiger seated triumphantly with the emblems of the two principal vanquished neighbours in front

<sup>33</sup> Śrī and Sarasvatī who usually dwell apart have come together in the case of this prince; by your sweet address and lovely glow you alone are fit to be their third, O auspicious one!

and behind, the bow of the Ceras and the fish of the Pāṇḍyas (Fig. 12). At the bottom is the Nāgari legend giving the name of the king. To the top is a parasol in the centre with fly whisks on either side. There are similar coins of Uttamacoṭa and Rājarāja. The importance of the parasol and flywhisks as Royal emblems *par excellence* is clearest in the verse of Kālidāsa's

जनाय शुद्धान्तचराय शंसते कुमारजन्मामृतसंमिताक्षरम् ।  
अदेयमासीत्तयमेव भूपतेः शशिप्रभं छत्रमुभे च चामरे ॥<sup>34</sup>

Raghu III. 16

*Riding the Elephant and shaded by Parasol*—In the Rāmāyaṇa the people of Ayodhya inform Daśaratha on hearing from him of his intention to appoint Rāma as Yuvarāja that it is their great desire to see the noble and mighty Rāma going on the lofty state elephant with his head screened from the sky by the umbrella held aloft.

इच्छामो हि महाबाहुं रघुवीर महाबलम् ।  
गजेन महता यान्तं रामं छत्रावृताननम् ॥<sup>35</sup> Rāma II. 2, 22.

Kālidāsa describes king Atithi, son of Kuśa and Kumudvatī, riding the elephant in all splendour with parasol held over his head, parasol denied to all others and vouchsafed for him alone, making him

<sup>34</sup> There were only three things that the king could not give away to the person from the harem who spoke words sweet as ambrosia announcing the prince's birth, the umbrella lustrous like the moon, and the two flywhisks.

<sup>35</sup> We desire Rāma, the long-armed, the hero among Raghus, of great might, going on a huge elephant with face screened by an umbrella.



Fig. 12. Below श्रीराजेन्द्रः



Fig. 13. Traces of legend lost.

emperor of all the domain on earth like Indra in heaven

स पुरं पुरुहूतश्रीः कल्पद्रुमनिभवजाम् ।  
 क्रममाणश्चकार द्यां नागेणैरावतीजसा ॥  
 तस्यैकस्योच्छ्रितं छत्र मूर्ध्नि तेनामलत्विषा ।  
 पूर्वराजवियोगोष्म्यं कृत्स्नस्य जयतो हृतम् ॥<sup>36</sup>

Raghu XVII. 32-33

The elephant rider type of coin of Kumāragupta is a splendid example of this lovely theme of emperor riding the state elephant in all his glory with the single parasol on earth raised over his head (Fig. 13). In the Bhāja cave there is a carving of Indra with the Kalpadrumas described by Kālidāsa included in the panel.

*Like Guha seated on Peacock*—In the peacock type of Kumāragupta's coins is a representation of a deity on peacock after whom the king himself is named (Fig. 14). Kumāra, Kārtikeya, Saḍānana and Brahmanyadeva was greatly honoured in the early centuries of the Christian era and we find Brahmanyadeva represented six-headed on Yaudheya coins of the 2nd century A.D. In the so called warrior type of Yaudheya coins of slightly later date Kārtikeya is shown with his spear as in the previous coin, with a single face and with his cock beside him. Kumāra was the warrior god *par excellence* and was the type kings tried to emulate.

<sup>36</sup> Beautiful like Indra he paraded on his elephant mighty like Airāvata through his city filled with flags resembling Kalpa trees and made it a second heaven.



Fig. 14. On right margin [म] हेन्द्रकुमारः

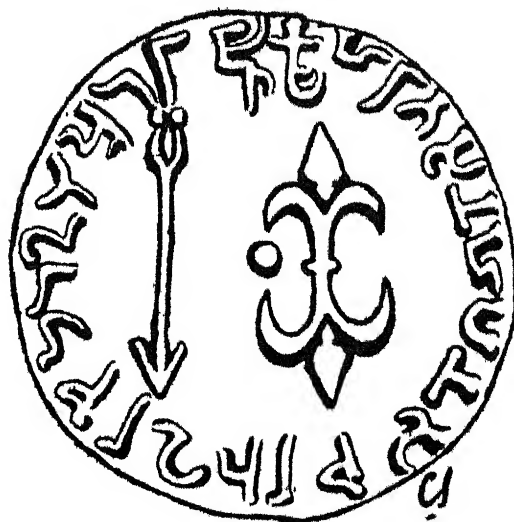


Fig. 15. Along the margin in Brāhmī to the right and Kharoṣṭhī to the left.

राक्षो क्षह्रातस नहपानस

And we find Kālidāsa often comparing different princes to Kumāra

ब्राह्मे मुहूर्ते किल तस्व देवी कुमारकल्प सुषुवे कुमारम्<sup>37</sup>

Raghu V. 36

अथोपयन्त्रा सदृशेन युक्तां स्कन्देन साक्षादिव देवसेनाम्<sup>38</sup>

Raghu VII. 1

हरेः कुमारोऽपि कुमारविक्रमः<sup>39</sup> Raghu III, 55

and so forth. The figure on the coin is fully understood in this sense of comparison when we compare it with the line

भूयिष्ठमासीदुपमेयकान्तिर्मयूरपृष्ठाश्रयिणा गुहेन<sup>40</sup> Raghu VI. 4

*Mighty like the Wielder of the Thunderbolt*—On the coins of the Kṣatrapa Nahapaṇa there are on the reverse two emblems, the arrow and the thunderbolt, both weapons of war (Fig. 15). These were the two most important weapons used to vanquish enemies. A passage from the Abhijñānaśā-kuntalam makes it clear that the bow of the ruling king and the thunderbolt of Indra were the two things that effectively protected the realm from the onslaught of enemies

Over his head alone was raised an umbrella, and by that umbrella of spotless lustre the affliction of the entire world on account of separation from the former king was removed.

<sup>37</sup> His queen gave birth at dawn to a prince equal to Kumāra.

<sup>38</sup> With bridegroom befitting her, like Devasenā herself with Skanda.

<sup>39</sup> The prince mighty like Kumāra.

<sup>40</sup> He looked exceedingly beautiful comparable to Guha seated on the back of the peacock.

आशसन्ते सुरयुवतवो बद्धवैरा हि दैत्यै-

रस्याधिज्ये घनुषि विजय पौरुहूते ए वज्र<sup>41</sup> Sak. II. 16

But the true significance of the thunderbolt is clearly to be understood from the verse of Kālidāsa that describes the might of the king as comparable to that of the wielder of the thunderbolt

तत परं वज्रघरप्रभावस्तदात्मजः सयति वज्रघोषः ।

बभूव वज्राकरभूषणाय पति. पृथिव्या किल वज्रणाभ. ॥<sup>42</sup>

Raghu XVIII. 21

The special power of the thunderbolt is also clear when we see the description of the battle between Raghu and Indra where finally Indra throws away his bow and takes the thunderbolt as the supreme weapon.

स चापमुत्सृज्य विवृद्धमत्सरः प्रणाशनाय प्रबलस्य विद्विषः ।

महीध्रपक्षव्यपरोपणीचितं स्फुरत्प्रभामण्डलमस्त्रमाददे ॥<sup>43</sup>

Raghu III. 60

*Mighty like the Lion*—Power is associated with the king of the beasts, the lion. As Raghu came on with his tumultuous mighty host of victorious warriors the lions in the Himālayan caves just turned their head a little without the least concern to see the troops marching past, as they were equally powerful.

<sup>41</sup> Damsels in heaven who are on inimical terms with the demons look forward for victory through the strung bow of this king and the thunderbolt of Indra.

<sup>42</sup> After him his son Vajranābha of might equal to the wielder of the thunderbolt (Indra), and whose war-cry resembled peals of thunder, became the lord of the earth that is adorned with diamond mines.

<sup>43</sup> With his ire increased he threw his bow and to kill his powerful foe took his weapon with effulgent light around it used to cut the wings of mountains.

गशंस तुल्यसत्त्वानां सैन्यघोषेप्यसंभ्रमम् ।

गुहाशयानां सिंहानां परिवृत्यावलोकनम् ॥<sup>44</sup> Raghu IV. 72

Naturally the king asserted his own power by vanquishing the lion and the poet's fancy enlightens us on the king's attitude of fight with the lord of the beasts by explaining that the king cleared himself of his obligation to the mighty elephants that helped him in his battles by killing their dreaded enemy.

तान्हत्वा गजकुलवद्धतीव्रवैरान्काकुत्स्थः कुटिलनखाग्रलग्नमुत्तान् ।

आत्मानं रणकृतकर्मणां गजानामानृण्यम् गतमिव मार्गणैरमंस्त ॥<sup>45</sup>

Raghu IX 65

And in this combat his might is proved to be equal to that of the lion. It is this fight with the lion and establishing of his superior power and leonine strength that is sought in the figure of the king slaying the lion on the lion slayer type of coin of Candragupta II (Fig. 16). The use of arrows to kill the lion answers the description of Kālidāsa. On the reverse of the coin is the legend सिंहविक्रम<sup>46</sup> which is an echo of Kālidāsa's सिंहोरुसत्त्वम्<sup>47</sup> and the verse

<sup>44</sup> The looks of the lions with their heads turned a bit as they lay in the caves announced their fearlessness in spite of the din of the army as they were of equal strength

<sup>45</sup> Having killed them that were deadly enemies of the race of elephants and that had pearls sticking to their curved claws, that descendant to Kakutstha considered that he had paid off with his arrows the debt he owed elephants that had helped him in battles.

<sup>46</sup> Mighty like the lion.

<sup>47</sup> Very mighty like the lion.





Fig. 16. Along the margin  
नरेन्द्रचन्द्रः [प्रथित . . . हितेजय] त्यजेयो भुवि सिङ्गहविक्रमः



Fig. 17. Along the margin  
नरेन्द्रचन्द्रः प्रथित. जयत्यजेयो भुवि सिङ्गहविक्रमः

ततो मृगेन्द्रस्य मृगेन्द्रगामी वधाय वध्यस्य शरं शरण्यः ।

जाताभिषङ्गो नृपतिनिषङ्गादुद्धर्तुं मैच्छत्प्रसभोद्धृतातिरि. ॥<sup>48</sup>

Raghu II. 30

*Beautiful in his Warrior Pose*—In some of these coins on which Candragupta II appears attacking the lion his right leg is bent and left leg drawn to trample the animal even as he shoots him with his bow arrow (Fig. 17). This is the famous *ālīḍha* posture, one of the five favourite warrior poses. Does this not remind us of the line of Kālidāsa where he describes Raghu majestically standing in *ālīḍha* pose to attack Indra?

स एवमुक्त्वा मघवन्तमुन्मुखः करिष्यमाणः सशर शरासनम् ।

अतिष्ठदालीढविशेषशोभिना वपुःप्रकर्षेण विडम्बितेश्वरः ॥<sup>49</sup>

Raghu III. 52

and of the picture of prince Sudarśana using the bow.

व्यूह्य स्थितः किञ्चिदिवोत्तरार्धमुन्नद्धचूडोऽञ्चितसव्यजानुः ।

आकर्णमाकृष्टसबाणधन्वा व्यरोचताग्रे स विनीयमानः ॥<sup>50</sup>

Raghu XVIII. 51

<sup>48</sup> Then the king of leonine gait and refuge of those needing protection, who had uprooted his enemies by force, being enraged, desired to pull out an arrow from the quiver to kill the mighty lion that deserved death.

<sup>49</sup> Having so spoken to Indra with face upwards, and trying to fit arrow to the bow, he stood exceedingly beautiful in the *ālīḍha* pose resembling Śiva by his mighty body.

<sup>50</sup> As he was trained in archery he shone bright standing with the forepart of his body stretched a little, with his hair tied up, with his left knee contracted, and with the bow to which arrow was added drawn up to the ear



Fig. 18.



Fig. 19. On right margin  
 अप्रतिरथो विजि [त्य क्षिति]  
 Continued on left margin  
 सुचरितैर्दिवं जयति  
 Beneath left arm  
 समुद्र

How can this be better glorified than by such a representation on the coin with the full force of the comparison brought nearer the reigning king?

*Lustrous like the Sun*—Some early cast or die-struck coins from Avanti represent on the obverse a noble personality a king or deity as it is interpreted standing wearing short-tailed coat and high tiara (Fig. 18). Beside him to his right is a standard surmounted by the Sun with fierce rays issuing on all sides. To the left of the figure is the solar symbol composed of alternating crescents and broad arrow-heads attached to central boss. Above the figure are the Svastika and taurine symbol. It is from this that the later coins like the Kāca type of Gupta coin are to be derived for the solar standard motif. The true significance of the Avanti coin, specially when we take into consideration the place of its find, is well understood when we read Sunandā's description of the king of Avanti. Here Kālidāsa describes him as of beautiful chiselled features and lustrous like the Sun after he was properly trimmed by Tvaṣṭā on the rotating wheel used for the purpose. The fierce-rayed Sun on standard beside the king and the solar wheel are thus significant when we consider Kālidāsa's verse

अवन्तिनाथोऽयमुदग्रबाहुर्विशालवक्षास्तनुवृत्तमध्यः ।

आरोप्य चक्रभ्रममुष्णतेजाः त्वष्ट्रेव शाणोल्लिखितो विभाति ॥<sup>51</sup>

Raghu VI. 32

<sup>51</sup> This Lord of Avanti has long arms, broad chest and slender rounded waist and appears like the luminous Sun chiselled and trimmed by Tvaṣṭā placing him on the revolving lathe.

*Wins Heaven by Deeds of Merits*—The dominion of king on earth is conquered by force. But the ambition of man is unlimited and conquests lead on to further conquests. The next sphere of conquest after the subjugation of the earth is heaven. To occupy the seat of Indra as almost his equal is the desire that all the great kings evinced in ancient India. Conquest of heaven was not possible by force but by one's own good deeds and the performance of difficult sacrifices like Rājasūya and Aśvamedha. Gupta coins abound in legends recording this great accomplishment of the king. The winning of heaven by good deeds is given in so many words. In the archer type of Samudragupta's coin (Fig. 19) it is

अप्रतिरथो विजित्य क्षितिं सुचरितैर्दिवं जयति<sup>52</sup>

Cat. Ind. Coins, Gupta p. 6

The legend on the Chattra type of Candragupta II is

क्षितिमवजित्य सुचरितैर्दिवं जयति विक्रमादित्यः<sup>53</sup> Ibid, p. 35

Kumaragupta's swordsman type of coins give the legend

गामवजित्य सुचरितैर्दिवं जयति विक्रमादित्यः<sup>54</sup> Ibid, p. 67

though the legend is different on the archer, horseman and other types

<sup>52</sup> Having conquered the earth without an opponent, he wins heaven by his good deeds.

<sup>53</sup> Vikramāditya having conquered the earth wins heaven by good deeds.

<sup>54</sup> Vikramāditya having conquered the earth wins heaven by good deeds.

विजितावनिरवनिपति. कुमारगुप्तो दिव जयति<sup>55</sup> Ibid, p. 61

क्षितिपतिरजितो विजयी कुमारगुप्तो दिवं जयति<sup>56</sup>

Ibid. p. 71 etc.

The idea of winning heaven is still present in these legends as well. In the verse from the Mandasor inscription of Yaśodharman

गामेवोन्मातुमूर्ध्वे विगणयितुमिव ज्योतिषां चक्रवाल

निर्दंष्टु मार्गमुच्चैर्दिव इव सुकृतोपार्जिताया. स्वकीर्तेः ।

तेनाकल्पान्तकालावधिरवनिभुजा श्रीयशोधर्मणाय

स्तम्भः स्तम्भाभिरामस्थिरभुजपरिघेणोच्छ्रितिं नायितोऽत्र ॥<sup>57</sup>

C. Inscr. Ind. III, p. 147

the line

निर्दंष्टु मार्गमुच्चैर्दिव इव सुकृतोपार्जिताया. स्वकीर्तेः<sup>58</sup> (Fig. 20.)

suggesting the way up for his fame to reach heaven won by his good deeds is indeed a noble echo of this legend on Gupta coins. And the source of this legend is to be sought in Kālidāsa. The attainment of heaven by सुकृत<sup>59</sup> or सुचरित<sup>60</sup> is clearly given in Kālidāsa's line

तस्मिन्गते द्या सुकृतोपलब्धाम्<sup>61</sup> Raghu XVIII. 22

<sup>55</sup> King Kumāragupta, after conquering the earth, wins heaven.

<sup>56</sup> King Kumāragupta, unconquered and victorious, wins heaven.

<sup>57</sup> As if to measure the heights of heaven above, or to count the galaxy of luminous objects, or to show the path on high to heaven to his own fame acquired by his good deeds, this pillar, lasting till the end of the aeon, has been set up by Śrī Yaśodharman whose firm bolt-like arm is lovely like a column.

<sup>58</sup> To show the path on high to heaven to his own fame acquired by his good deeds.

<sup>59</sup> & <sup>60</sup> Good deeds.

<sup>61</sup> When he went to heaven obtained by good deeds.

हिव इय सुकृतोपज्जितायाः स्वकीर्तेः

Fig. 20. हिव इय सुकृतोपज्जितायाः स्वकीर्तेः



Fig. 21. Along the margin [राजो] सिरिचद सातिस

The term कर्मभिः<sup>62</sup> is sometimes used in the coin legends as on the Kāca type of Samudragupta's coins

काचो गामवजित्य दिवं कर्मभिरुत्तैर्मजयति<sup>63</sup>

Cat. Ind. Coins, Gupta, p. 15.

This is found given in exactly the same manner in the line of Kālidāsa

कौमुद्वतेय. कुमुदावदातैद्यामजितां कर्मभिरारुरोह<sup>64</sup>

Raghu XVIII. 3

*Horse Sacrifice*—The Aśvamedha sacrifice being one of those that established the reputation and suzerainty of the powerful Royal victor on earth and assured him place in heaven it was performed by all the great kings of the Imperial dynasties. On some of the Sātavāhana coins there is the horse represented before the sacrificial post (Fig. 21). Among the coins of the Guptas the Aśvamedha type of Samudragupta is one of the most interesting (Fig. 22). On the obverse of it the horse is shown standing near the sacrificial post; on the reverse a lady stands with flywhisk in her right hand, a staff adorned with pennons in front of her. Behind her is the legend अश्वमधप्राक्रमः.<sup>65</sup>

Kālidāsa describes Indra conversing with Raghu and remarking that Dilīpa was depriving him of his

<sup>62</sup> Acts.

<sup>63</sup> Having won the earth, Kāca wins heaven by his excellent acts.

<sup>64</sup> The son of Kumudvatī climbed to heaven won by his acts pure like a lily.

<sup>65</sup> Mighty by the performance of Aśvamedha sacrifice.



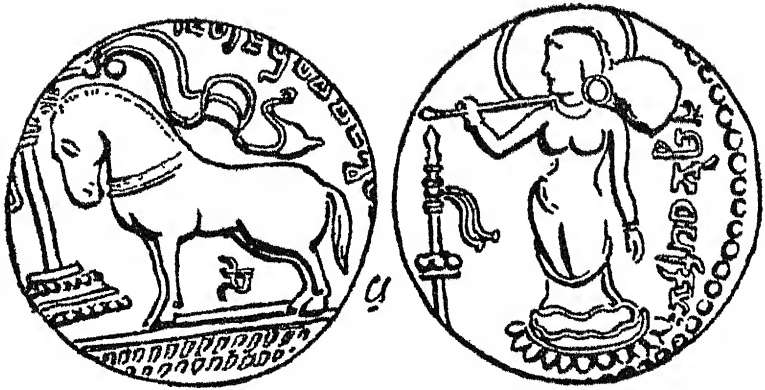


Fig. 22. Obverse—along the margin  
 राजाधिराजः पृथिवीमवित्वा [दिव जयत्यप्रतिवार्यवीर्यः]  
 Reverse—on right margin अश्वमेधपराक्रमः



Fig. 23. Along the margin  
 महाराजाधिराजश्रीसमुद्रगुप्तः  
 Below couch near footstool  
 सि

glory by performing the Aśvamedha sacrifices and he carried away the sacrificial horse for saving his glory.

यशस्तु रक्ष्य परतो यशोधनैः ।

जगत्प्रकाशं तदशेषमिज्यया भवद्गुरुर्लङ्घयितुं ममोद्यतः ॥<sup>66</sup>

Raghu III. 48

And naturally the performance of Aśvamedha established the sovereign's parākrama and the legend on the coin is pregnant with meaning. The horse itself is called by Kālidāsa the first and foremost accessory of the sacrifice

तदङ्गमग्र्यं सधवन्महाक्रतोरमुं तुरङ्गं प्रतिमोक्तुमर्हसि<sup>67</sup>

Raghu III 46

So it is that animal is prominently figured on the coin.

*With the Lyre on the Lap*—In the Mṛcchakaṭika Cārudatta remarks that the lyre is a gem but only it is not obtained from the ocean

वीणा हि नामासमुद्रोत्थित रत्नम्<sup>68</sup> Mṛcchakaṭika I

It is a vinodasthāna and helps to beguile the mind. In the Kathāsaritsāgara we hear of Naravāhanadatta as an adept in music and dance. A greater royal musician than Udayana is unknown to Sanskrit literature. The Rāmāyaṇa mentions Rāma as an adept in vaihārika śilpa

<sup>66</sup> But those who value fame as their treasure should protect it from enemies; and your father is striving to excel this world-wide renown of mine by performing sacrifices.

<sup>67</sup> Therefore, O Indra! please release this horse, the most essential thing in this great sacrifice.

<sup>68</sup> The lyre is jewel but not sprung from the ocean.

वैहारिकाणां शिल्पानां विज्ञातार्थविभागवित्<sup>69</sup> Rāma II, 1, 28

In the famous Allahābād inscription of Samundra-gupta that great emperor's proficiency in music is described in the line

निशितविदग्धमतिगान्धर्वललितैर्ब्रीडितत्रिदशपतिगुरुतुम्बुरुनारदादेः<sup>70</sup>

C. Ins. Ind. III, p. 8.

This is substantiated by the picture on the coin where the king is shown seated on couch with the lyre in his lap, his fingers thrumming the strings of the instrument (Fig. 23). The lyre resting on the king's lap does certainly recall Kālidāsa's verse

अङ्गमङ्गपरिवर्तनोचिते तस्य निन्यतुरशून्यतामुभे ।

वल्लकी च हृदयङ्गमस्वना वल्गुवागपि च वामलोचना ॥<sup>71</sup>

Raghu XIX. 13

*Sportive Lotus in Hand*—In the description of the lovely princess assembled at the svayamvara of Indumatī, Kālidāsa begins with one who gently turned a lotus he held by its long stalk in his hand. It is one of the amorous sports of the gay royal youth here congregated

<sup>69</sup> Learned in fine arts intended as diversion and clever in different subtle meanings.

<sup>70</sup> Who put to shame the preceptor of the celestial king, Tumburu, Nārada and others by his keen trained intellect, and subtle variations in musical modes.

<sup>71</sup> Two things, both accustomed to play on his lap, never left his lap vacant, the lute whose notes allured the heart and the beautiful-eyed damsel with sweet voice.

कश्चित्कराभ्यामुपगूढनालमालोलपत्राभिहितद्विरेफम् ।  
 रजोभिरन्तः परिवेषबन्धि लीलारविन्दं भ्रमयाञ्चकार ॥<sup>72</sup>

Raghu VI. 13

The lotus in his hand symbolises his aesthetic taste and his life of ease and pleasure.

On the couch type of coin of Candragupta II (Fig. 24), the king is shown resting on a couch with a lotus in his right hand, the left resting on the seat, one leg tucked up and other resting on jewelled footstool. The legend *रूपाङ्कली*<sup>73</sup> given below the couch is very significant as his beauty is emphasised. It cannot be denied that no better picture can be found to answer the description of the sportive prince with the lotus in his hand.

*Bedecked and lovely like the Kalpadruma mirrored on the shining slopes of Meru*—On some local coins like those of king Parvata from Kauśāmbi (Fig. 25) and of the Kuninda king Amoghabhūti, there is a representation of the tree in railing and a mountain. The significance of this is not quite clear though it may be understood as the best of each class, Meru among mountains and the Kalpavṛkṣa among trees. There is a verse in the Raghuvamśa describing king Atithi before a mirror decked in all his jewels and dress and reflected in all his glory like the Kalpavṛkṣa loaded with jewels and silks mirrored on the slopes of the Meru mountain.

<sup>72</sup> One of the princes twirled a sportive lotus held in his hands by the stem, its moving petals warding off the bees around and its pollen inside forming circles.

<sup>73</sup> Beauty and form.



Fig. 24. Along the margin  
 देवश्रीमहाराजाधिराजश्री चन्द्रगुप्तस्य  
 Below couch रूपाकृती

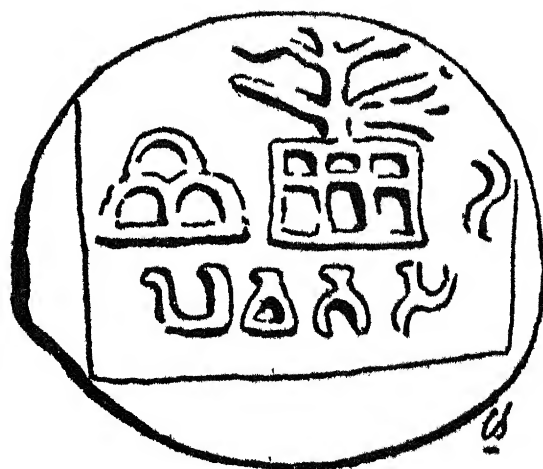


Fig 25. Below tree and mountain  
 पवतस

नेपथ्यदर्शिनश्छाया तस्यादर्शो हिरण्मये ।

विरराजोदिते सूर्ये मेरौ कल्पंतरोरिव ॥<sup>74</sup> Raghu XVII. 26

It is this idea of a king in all his glory that is in all likelihood suggested by the representation on these coins.

*Like the young calf developed into the mighty Bull or lordly Elephant*—Describing the fullness of youth attained by Raghu, his increased physical power and overpowering personality, Kālidāsa remarks

महोक्षतां वत्सतरः स्पृशन्निव द्विपेन्द्रभावं कलभः श्रयन्निव ।

रघुः कमाद्यौवनभिन्नशैशवः पूपोष गाम्भीर्यमनोहरं वपुः ॥<sup>75</sup>

Raghu III. 32

Representation of the humped bull, elephant and lion is quite common on many Indian coins. But the coin of Apollodotus both circular and square (Fig. 26), certain Audumbara coins like those of Mahādeva (Fig. 27), and Rudravarma, and some Yaudheya coins (Fig. 28), containing the figure of elephant on obverse and bull on reverse are most interesting and both the comparisons are here present and it is not unlikely that the significance sought to be conveyed by the figures is the mighty

<sup>74</sup> When he examined his decorations his image in his golden mirror shone like that of the Kalpa tree on the slopes of the Meru mountain lit by the rising sun.

<sup>75</sup> As a young calf grows into a mighty bull and as a baby elephant becomes a noble elephant in due course, so Raghu slowly passed from childhood to youth and maintained a body at once noble and beautiful.



Fig. 26. Obverse—along the margin  
Basileos Apollodotou Soteris

Reverse—along the margin महरजस अपलदतस ततरस



Fig. 27. Obverse—along the margin भगवतमहदेवस  
and below रजरज

Reverse—along the margin भगवतमहदेवस and below रजरज

personality of the king that ranks with the majesty of the full-grown elephant and bull.

These are a few suggestions in an attempt to understand the figures and legends on some of the most interesting Indian coins. The study of Numismatics is undoubtedly fascinating but more so is the attempt to understand the coins with the help of literary parallels. This small attempt to examine early Indian coins in the light of some significant verses of Kālidāsa will indeed be fruitful if it stimulates further thought on the subject.

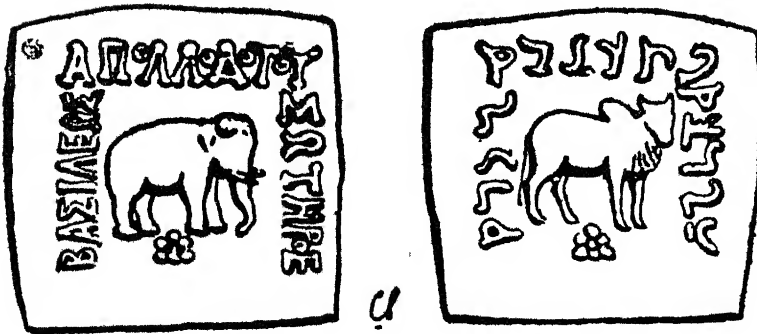


Fig. 28. Obverse—on top margin योषेयानां  
uncertain legend below





## LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Headpiece. Gold coin of Harihara II, Vijayanagar, 14th century A.D.; reverse showing Umāsahita (Śiva with Umā) seated, Coins S. Ind., pl. III, Nos 96, 97 and Cat. Coins Ind. Mus. I, pl. XXX, 25.

Fig. 1. Silver coin of Amoghabhūti, Kuṇḍa, Tribal coin, 1st century B.C.; obverse showing cow to left, female figure standing facing holding flower in uplifted right hand, symbols above back of cow and horns, legend in Brāhmi Rājñath Kuṇḍadāsa Amoghabhūtisa Mahārāja; Cat. Ind. Coins, Cat. Coins Ancient Ind. pl. XXII, XXIII.

Fig. 2. Copper coin of Amśuvarman, Neṣal, 7th century A.D.; reverse showing cow standing left, above Kāmādehi; Coins Ancient Ind., pl. XIII, 4.

Fig. 3. Lead coin of Gautamīputra Viḷivāyakura, Sāta vāhana, 2nd century A.D.; Bow strung and fitted with arrow pointing upwards, legend in Brahmi Raño Gotamīputasa Viḷivāyakurasa; Cat. Ind. Coins, Cat. Coins Andhra Dyn. W. Kṣatra, Traikūṭ., Bodhi Dyn., pl. III, 47.

Fig. 4. Line of the Nasik inscription of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śrī Puṣumāvi's grandmother Queen Gautamī Balasiri, Sātavāhana, 2nd century A.D.; Epigraph. Ind. VIII, p. 60, line 7.

Fig. 5. Gold coin of Candragupta II, Gupta, 4th century A.D.; obverse showing king standing left, nimbate, casting incense on altar, a dwarf attendant holding umbrella over him, legend Kṣitim avajītya sucaritair divaṃ jayati Vikramādityaḥ, Cat. Ind. Coins, Cat. Coins Gupta Dyn., pl VIII, 3.

Fig. 6. Silver coin of Gautamīputra Śrī Yajña Sātakarni, Sātavāhana, 2nd century A.D.; obverse showing bust of king, legend in Brāhmi Raño Gotamīputasa Siri

Yaña Sātākamśa, Cat Ind. Coins, Cat. Coins Andhra Dyn. W. Kṣatra. Traikūṭ Bodhi Dyn., pl. VIII, El.

Fig. 7. Silver coin of Gautamīputra Śrī Yajña Sātakarñi, Sātavāhana, 2nd century A.D., reverse showing mountain with crescent above, wavy line beneath, Ujjain symbol on left surmounted by crescent, rayed star between crescents, legened in Brāhmī . . . ṇaśa Gotamī-putaśa Hiru Yaña Hātakaṇiśa, Cat Ind. Coins, Cat. Coins, Andhra Dyn. W. Kṣatra. Traikūṭ. Bodhi Dyn., pl VII, El.

Fig. 8. Silver coin of Dāmasena, son of Rudrasīmha, Kṣatrapa. 3rd century A.D., reverse showing mountain with crescent above, wavy line beneath, crescent on left and star on right, legend in Brāhmī Rājño Mahākṣatrapasa Rudrasīhasa putrasa Rājño Mahākṣatrapasa Dāmasenasa; Cat. Ind. Coins, Cat. Coins Andhra Dyn. W. Kṣatra. Traikūṭ. Bodhi Dyn., pl. XIII, 388.

Fig. 9. Silver coin of Satrap Jihunia or Zeionises of Taxila, Indo-Parthian, 1st century A.D.; reverse showing satrap standing to right facing a goddess standing to left and about to crown him with wreath, goddess carries cornucopia, monograms and Kharoṣṭhi legend Managulasa Chatrapasa putrasa Chatrapasa (Ji) huni (asa); Cat. Coins Ind. Mus. I, pl. IX, 14.

Fig. 10. Gold coin of Samudragupta showing Candragupta I and Kumāradevī, Gupta, 4th century A.D.; obverse showing Candragupta I nimbate standing to left wearing close-fitting coat, trousers and ornaments, holding standard in left hand and offering a ring held in right hand to Kumāradevī nimbate who stands on left facing the King wearing under and upper garments, and ornaments legend on either side of standard Caṁdra and Gupta and on left Kumāradevī; reverse showing goddess Lakṣmī nimbate seated facing on couchant lion carrying noose in right hand and cornucopia in left arm, her

feet resting on lotus, legend to right Licchavayah; Cat. Ind. Coins, Cat. Coins Gupta Dyn., pl. III.

- Fig. 11 Gold coin of Narendraditya, Unattributed Gupta type, 7th century A. D., King nimbate seated on throne with head to left, attended by a lady on either side, legend above Yama, beneath couch letter dha; reverse showing goddess Lakṣmī nimbate standing holding lotus in right hand and with lotuses about her and a swan near her feet, legend Śrī Narendrādityaḥ; Cat. Ind. Coins, Cat. Coins Gupta Dyn., pl. XXIV, 5.
- Fig. 12. Silver coin of Śrī Rājendra Cola, Cola, 11th century A.D.; obverse or reverse showing seated tiger, bow behind and two fish in front, all three emblems of the three South Indian powers, with umbrella and fly-whisks above suggesting Coḷa suzerainty, legend in Nāgarī below Śrī Rājendraḥ, Coins S. Ind. pl. IV, 153.
- Fig. 13. Gold coin of Kumāragupta I, Gupta, 5th century A.D.; obverse showing king, with goad in right hand, riding elephant advancing left, behind king is seated an attendant holding umbrella over him, traces of legend which is lost; Cat. Ind. Coins, Cat. Coins Gupta Dyn., pl. XV, 16.
- Fig. 14. Gold coin of Kumāragupta I, Gupta, 5th century A.D.; reverse showing Kārtikeya nimbate seated on peacock with spear in left hand (Śaktidhara) and sprinkling incense on altar, legend Mahendrakumāraḥ; Cat. Ind. Coins, Cat. Coins Gupta Dyn., pl. XV, 5.
- Fig. 15. Silver coin of Nahapāna. Kṣatrapa, 2nd century A. D.; reverse showing arrow and thunderbolt, legend in Brāhmī and Kharoṣṭhī Rājño Kṣaharātasa Nahapānasa; Cat. Ind. Coins, Cat. Coins Andhra Dyn. W. Kṣātra. Traikūṭ. Bodhi Dyn. pl. IX, 243.
- Fig. 16. Gold coin of Candragupta II, Gupta, 4th century A. D.; obverse showing king standing to right shooting lion fallen on its back failing in its leap, legend

Narendracandrah prathita . . . divaṃ jayatyajeyo bhuvi  
sīṃhavīkramah; Cat. Ind. Coin, Cat. Coins Gupta Dyn.,  
pl. IX, 9.

- Fig. 17. Similar gold coin of Candragupta II but with legs apart, right leg bent forward, left leg trampling lion fallen on its back; Cat. Ind. Coins, Cat. Coins Gupta Dyn., pl. VIII, 16
- Fig. 18. Copper coin of Avantī (Ujjain), about 2nd century B. C.; obverse showing king or deity standing wearing short-tailed coat and high crown, to right solar symbol composed of nandīpādas and arrow-heads, above svastika and nandīpāda, to left standard surmounted by rayed sun, extreme left tree in railing lost; Cat. Coins Ind. Mus. I, pl. XX, 2.
- Fig. 19. Gold coin of Samundragupta, Gupta 4th century A. D.; obverse showing king nimbate standing wearing tight coat and ornaments, holding bow in left hand and arrow in right hand, Garuḍa standard on left, legend beneath left arm Samudra and near margin around Apratiratho vijitya kṣītiṃ sucaritair divaṃ jayati; Cat. Ind. Coins, Cat. Coins Gupta Dyn., pl. IV, 1.
- Fig. 20. Line 7 of the Mandasor inscription of Yaśodharman, 6th century A. D.; C. Inscr. Ind. p. III 147.
- Fig. 21. Lead coin of Śrī Candra Śātavāhana, 2nd century A.D.; obverse showing horse standing opposite sacrificial post, legend in Brāhmī Raño Sirī Cada Satisa; Cat. Ind. Coins, Cat. Coins Andhra Dyn. W. Kṣatra. Traikūṭ. Bodhi Dyn., pl. VI. G. P. 3.
- Fig. 22. Gold coin of Samundragupta, Gupta, 4th century A.D.; obverse showing horse before sacrificial post with its pennons flying above the animal, beneath horse letter Si and legend around Rājādhirājah pṛthīvim avitva divaṃ jayatyapiativāryavīryah, reverse showing chief queen nimbate standing wearing loose robe and ornaments carrying fly-whisk in right hand resting on

her shoulder, opposite her sacrificial spear with fillet, lotus supporting queen's feet, legend to right *Āśva-medhaparākramah*. Cat Ind Coins, Cat Coins Gupta Dyn. pl. V.

- Fig. 23. Gold coin of Samudragupta, Gupta, 4th century A.D., obverse showing king nimbate wearing waist cloth and ornaments seated on high-backed couch, playing lyre resting on his lap, footstool beneath couch with letter *Śi*, legend around *Mahārājādhirāja Śrī Samudraguptah*; Cat. Ind. Coins, Cat. Coins Gupta Dyn., pl. V. 1.
- Fig. 24. Gold coin of Candragupta II, Gupta 4th century A.D.; obverse showing king nimbate wearing waist cloth and ornaments seated on high-backed couch holding flower in right hand, his left hand resting on couch, legend below couch near footstool *Rūpākṛti* and around *Deva Śrī Mahārājādhirāja Śrī Candraguptasya*, Cat. Ind. Coins, Cat. Coins Gupta Dyn., pl. VI, 9.
- Fig. 25. Copper coin of Parvata from Kosam, 2nd century B.C.; obverse showing tree in railing on right and mountain on left, legend below them in *Brāhmī Pavatasa*; Cat. Coins Ind. Mus. I, pl. XX. 4.
- Fig. 26. Silver coin of Apollodotos, Indo-Greek, 2nd century B. C.; obverse showing elephant standing and legend in Greek *Basileos Apollodotou Soter*; reverse showing bull standing and legend in *Kharoṣṭhī* *Maharajasa Apaladatasa tratarasa*; Cat. Coins, Ind. Mus. I. pl. IV. 5.
- Fig. 27. Silver coin of Mahādeva Audumbara, Tribal coin, 2nd-1st centuries B. C.; obverse showing humped bull and flower, legend in *Kharoṣṭhī* *Bhagavata Mahadevasa* and below *Rajaraña*; reverse showing elephant with trunk raised and trident, legend in *Brahmi* *Bhagavata Mahadevasa* and below *Rajaraja*; Cat. Ind. Coins Cat. Coins Ancient Ind., pl. XIV, 16.

- Fig. 28 Potin coin of Yaudheyas, Tribal coin, 2nd-1st centuries B. C., obverse showing bull before sacrificial post, legend in Brāhmī Yaudheyānāṁ above and uncertain legend below; reverse showing elephant, nandipāda and pennon-like object above; Cat. Ind. Coins, Cat. Coins Ancient Ind., pl. XXXIX, 11.

## INDEX

- Abhijñānaśākuntalam, 23.  
Abode of Learning and Fortune, 17.  
Age, of no consideration in the case of the powerful, 10.  
Ālīdha, one of five warrior poses, 27.  
Raghu in, 27.  
Allahabad, Samudragupta's inscription at, 36.  
on his proficiency in music, 36.  
Amoghabhūti, Kuṇḍa king, 3.  
Tribal coins of, 1, 3.  
Cow and lady on, 1, 3.  
tree and mountain on, 37.  
Amśuvarma, coin of, 5.  
Aṅga, description of prince of, 18.  
Apollodotus, coin of, 39.  
Aśvamedha, sacrifice, 30, 33, 35.  
establishes sovereignty, 33.  
type of coin, 30.  
Atithi, son of Kuśa and Kumudvati, 19.  
decked and reflected in mirror, 37.  
emperor like Indra, 21.  
like Kalpavṛkṣa reflected on Meru, 37.  
riding elephant, 19.  
screened by parasol, 19.  
Audumbarā, coins, 39.  
bull and elephant on, 39.



of Mahādeva, 39.  
 of Rudravarma, 39.  
 Avanti, early coins from, 29.  
 king and Sun on standard  
 on, 29.  
 lord of, likened to Sun, 29  
 Sunandā's description of king  
 of, 29.  
 Ayodhyā, 19.  
 goddess of the city of, woos  
 Kuśa, 15.

Balasiri, mother of Gautamī-  
 putra, 5, 7  
 Nasik, inscription of, 7.  
 Beautiful in warrior pose, 27.  
 Beauty and form, 37.  
 Bedecked and lovely, like  
 Kalpadruma mirrored on  
 Meru, 37.  
 Benares, Bhārat Kalā Bhavan  
 in, 10.  
 Bhaja cave, Indra in, 21.  
 Bhārat Kalā Bhavan, 10.  
 Kārtikeya with Kākapakṣa  
 in, 10.  
 Bow, emblem of Ceras, 19.  
 of king, and thunderbolt of  
 Indra, protect realm, 23.  
 assure victory, 24.  
 Bowman, unrivalled, 5, 7.  
 Brāhmaṇas, 15.  
 Brahmanyadeva, represented  
 on Yaudheya coins, 21.  
 worship of, in early centuries  
 of Christian era, 21.

Bull, humped, mighty, 39.  
 young calf developed into, 39.  
 and elephant, royal majesty  
 of, 41.

Calf, developed into bull and  
 elephant, 39.

Candragupta I, coins of, 15.  
 king and queen on, 15

Candragupta II, coins of, 9.

Chattia type, 30

lion-slayer type, 25

great emperor. 9.

Mathura inscription of, 3.

umbrella raised over, 7.

Cārudatta, on lyre, 35

Cat. Ind. Coins, Gupta, 30, 33.

Ceras, bow of, 19.

City, Fortune of, 13, 14.

Coins, Audumbara, 39.

of Mahādeva, 39.

Cast, 29.

Coḷa, 18.

of Rājarāja, 18.

of Rājendra, 18.

of Uttamacoḷa, 19.

Diestruck, 1, 29.

Gupta, 9, 30, 31.

of Candragupta I, 15

of Candragupta II, 9, 25, 27,

30, 37.

of Kumaragupta, 21, 30.

of Samudragupta, 30, 33, 36.

of Skandagupta, 17.

- Indian, bull, elephant and lion  
common on, 39.
- Indo-Greek, 39,  
of Apollodotus, 39.
- Indo-Parthian, 13.  
of Jihunia, 13.
- Local, 37.  
of Parvata, 37.
- Punch-marked, 1.
- Sātavāhana, 5, 33.  
of Gautamīputra  
Śātakarṇi, 5.  
of Yajña Śātakarṇi, 9, 11.  
of Śiri Cada Śātakarṇi, 31.
- Tribal, 1, 3.  
of Amoghabhuti, 1, 37.
- Unattributed, 17.  
of Śaśāṅka, 17,
- Western Kṣatrapas, 11.  
of Dāmasena, 11.  
of Nahapāna, 23.  
of Rudradāma, 11.  
of Vīradāma, 11.
- Yaudheya, 39.  
of Rudravarma, 39.  
quality or power of king em-  
phasised on, 1.  
suggestive figures on, 1.
- Coḷa, coins, 18.  
parasol and flywhisks on, 19.  
emblem, tiger, 18.  
emperor, Rājarāja, 18.  
Rājendra, 18.  
Uttamacoḷa, 19.
- Cornucopia, carried by god-  
dess, 14.  
carried by Śrī, 14.

and noose, signify *kośa* and  
*daṇḍa*, 15.

*Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum* III, 3, 14, 31, 36.

Couch, coin type, of Candragupta II, 37,

Cow, beside tree, on coins, 3.  
 venerated as *Kāmadhenu*, 5.

*Dāmasena*, Western

*Kṣatrapa*, 11  
 symbols on coins of, 11.

*Daśaratha*, 19.

*Devasenā*, with *Skanda*, 23.

*Dīlīpa*, unrivalled bowman, 7.

Earth, Cow of Plenty, 1, 3, 5.  
 in the form of cow, 3.

Egypt, hieroglyphics of, 7.

Elephant, lordly, 39.  
 young calf developed into, 39.  
 and bull, royal majesty of, 41.

Emblems of royalty, three, 18.

*Epigraphia Indica*, 7.

Fame, ascends mountains, 11,  
 13.

crosses oceans, 13.  
 enters abode of snakes, 13.  
 goes to heaven, 13.  
 protected as treasure, 35.  
 travels afar, 11.  
 white and moonlike, 11.

Fish, emblem of *Pāṇdyas*, 19.

Flywhisks, royal emblem, 19.

Footstool, jewelled, 37.

Fortune of vanquished city,  
woos victor, 14, 15.

Four oceans, 13.  
quarters, 13

Gangakoṇḍasoḷapuram, Śiva  
temple at, 18.

built by Rājendra, 18.

Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi, 5, 7.  
unrivalled bowman, 5.

Gautamīputra Yajña Śātakarṇi,  
coins of, 9, 11.

youthful head with sidelocks  
on, 9.

suggestive of power in  
youth, 10.

Ujjain symbol etc., on, 11.

Goddess, of capital city,  
chooses, 15.

of victory, resorts to heroes,  
14.

Gorūpadharā, Pṛthvī as, 1, 3.

Guha, seated on peacock, 21,  
22.

Gupta, 3, 9.

coins, 9, 29, 30, 31.

inscriptions, 3, 14.

monarch, 17.

sculpture, 10.

Heaven, conquest of ambition,  
of kings, 30.

fame goes up to, 11.

won by good deeds, 30.

Hieroglyphics, of Egypt, 7.

Hill surmounted by crescent, 11.

Himālayan caves, lions in, 24.  
 Horse, foremost accessory of  
 Aśvamedha 33.  
 Horse sacrifice, 33.

Indo-Parthians, coins of, 13.  
 Indra, battle between Raghu  
 and 24, 33, 29.  
 Raghu in alidha pose to attack,  
 27.  
 Dilipa deprives the glory of, 33.  
 in Bhaja cave, 21.  
 on Airavata, parades through  
 city, 21.  
 with Kalpadruma, 21.  
 Indumatī, svayamvara of, 36.  
 prince with lotus in, 36.

Jessore, coin from, 17.  
 Jihunia or Zeonises of Taxila,  
 Indo-Parthian, coin of, 13.

Kāca coin type, 29, 33.  
 Samudragupta's, 33.  
 wins heaven by good deeds,  
 31.  
 Kākapakṣa, Rāma wears, 10.  
 worn by young princes, 10.  
 Yajña Śātakarṇi wears, 9, 11.  
 Kakutstha, descendent of, 25.  
 Kālidāsa, 1, 3, 5, 7, 9, 10, 11,  
 14, 15, 17, 18, 19, 21, 23, 24,  
 25, 27, 31, 33, 35, 36, 39, 41.  
 Kalpa trees, 21.  
 Kalpadruma, bedecked and  
 lovely, 31.

- Indra with, in Bhaja cave, 21.
- mirrored on Meru slopes, 37.
- Kalpataru, 5
- Kālpavṛkṣa, best among trees, 37.
- Kāmadehī, 5.
- Kāmaduhā, 5.
- Kārtikeya, wearing kākapakṣa, in Bhārat Kalā Bhavan, 10.
- worship of, in early centuries of Christian era, 21.
- Kathāsaritsāgara, 35.
- Kauśika, requests for Rāma, 10.
- Kosambi, king Parvata's coins from, 37.
- tree and mountain on, 37.
- Kṣatrapa, Western, coins of, 11.
- Nahapana, coins of, 23.
- arrow and thunderbolt on, 23.
- Kṣiti, produces kośa and daṇḍa, 15.
- Kumāra, on peacock, 21.
- princes compared to, 23.
- warrior god, 21.
- worship of, in early centuries of Christian era, 21.
- Kumārāgupta, coins of, 21, 30.
- archer type, 30.
- elephant rider type, 21.
- horseman type, 25.
- peacock type, 21.
- swordsman type, 30.
- wins heaven by good deeds, 30.

Kumudvatī son of, wins heaven  
by pure acts, 33.

Kuṇḍa, Amoghabhūti, coins  
of 3, 37.

cow and lady on, 3.

tree and mountain on, 37.

Lady with flywhisk, 33

Laksmī carries cornucopia and  
noose, 15.

carries lotus, 15.

on reverse of coin, 15, 17.

on śimhāsana as Rājyalakṣmī,  
15.

surrounded by lotuses, 18.

swan near feet of, 18.

woos king as lord, 15.

Leonine, strength, king has, 25.  
gait, king has, 27.

Licchavi, alliance, Candragupta I, proud of, 15

Lions, in Himālayan caves, 24.  
king vanquishes and establishes power, 25.

Lotus, substitute of cornucopia,  
17.

symbolic of padmanidhi, 17.

symbolises beauty, 18.

in hand, symbolises aesthetic  
taste, 37.

Lustrous like the Sun, 29.

Lyre, gem but not of the  
ocean, 35.

on king's lap, 36.

Mahādeva, Audumbara, coins  
of, 39.

bull and elephant on, 39.



Mahānīla, applies even to small  
 saphire, 10.  
 Mahārāja, title befits even  
 child, 10  
 Mandasor inscription, of Yaśo-  
 dharman, 31.  
 echoes Gupta coin legend, 31.  
 Mathura inscription, of Can-  
 dragupta II, 3.  
 Merit, deeds of, win heaven,  
 30  
 Gupta coin legends mention,  
 31.  
 Meru, best among mountains,  
 37.  
 slopes, Kalpadruma mirrored  
 on, 37.  
 Mighty like the lion, 24.  
 Mighty like the Wielder of  
 thunderbolt, 24.  
 Mirror, golden, 39.  
 Mountains, fame ascends, 11,  
 Mṛcchakaṭika, 35.

Nāgarī legend, on Coṣa coins,  
 19.  
 Nahapāna, Ksatrapa coins of,  
 23.  
 arrow and thunderbolt on, 23.  
 Nārada 36.  
 Naravāhanadatta, adept in  
 music and dance, 35.  
 Narendrāditya, 17.  
 Nasik, inscription of Balasiri  
 at, 7.

Nepal, Amśuvarman's coins  
from, 5.

Noose, and cornucopia carried  
by Śrī, 15  
as danda and kośa, 15

Oceans, fame crosses, 11.

four, 3, 13.

fame tastes water of, 3

Only umbrella aloft, 7.

ambition of sovereignty, 9.

Only unrivalled bowman, 5, 7.

Padmanidhi, lotus symbol of,  
17.

Pāṇdyas fish emblem of, 19.

Parākrama, 35.

Parameśvara, and Pārvatī,  
parents of universe, XVI.

Parasol, royal emblem, 19.

Parvata, king, coins of, from  
Kosambi, 37.

Pārvatī, and Parameśvara,  
parents of universe, XVI.

Pātāla, abode of snakes, 11.

Prince, lotus in hand of, 36, 37.

Pṛthvī, as gorūpadharā, 1, 5.  
produces kośa and daṇḍa, 15.

Queen, and Lady of Fortune,  
king truly wedded by, 15, 17  
comparable to Fortune, 18.

Raghu, childhood to youth  
attained by, 39.  
fights Indra, 24.

- in ālīdha pose resembles Śiva,  
27.  
talks to Indra, 35.  
warriors of, and lions, 24.  
Raghuvamśa, xvi, 3, 5, 7, 9,  
10, 11, 13, 14, 15, 17, 18, 19,  
21, 23, 24, 25, 27, 29, 31, 33,  
35, 36, 37, 39.  
Rājarāja, Coḷa, father of  
Rājendra, coins of, 18.  
Rājasūya, sacrifice, 30  
Rājendra, Coḷa, son of  
Rājarāja, 18.  
builder of Gangakoṇḍacoḷa-  
puram Śiva temple, 18.  
coins of, 18.  
Rājyalakṣmī, Śrī as, 15.  
carries kośa and daṇḍa, 15.  
Rāma, accompanies Viśvā-  
mitra, 10.  
adept in vaihārika śilpa, 35.  
hero among Raghus, 19.  
on state elephant, screened  
by parasol, 21.  
people desire as yuvarāja, 19.  
wearer of kākapakṣa, 9, 10.  
Ramachandran, T.N., 13.  
Rāmāyaṇa, 10, 19, 35.  
Riding elephant, shaded by  
parasol, 19.  
Royal Fortune, and queen,  
king truly wedded only  
through, 15.  
chooses, 14.  
bride, bridegroom of, 14.  
fond of virtues, 14.

queen comparable to, 18.  
 transfers herself to yuvarāja,  
 14.  
 waits for sovereign's consent,  
 14.  
 Royalty, three emblems of, 18  
 Rudradāma, Kṣatrapa, coins  
 of, 11.  
 Rudravarma, Audumbara,  
 coins of, 39.  
 bull and elephant on, 39

Sacrificial post, 23.  
 Śaḍānana, worship in early  
 centuries of Christian era, 21.  
 Samudragupta Allahabad ins-  
 cription of, on his musical  
 ability, 36.  
 coin of, Aśvamedha type, 33.  
 archer type, 30.  
 Kāca type, 29.  
 lyre player type, 36.  
 Śaśānka, coin from Jessore  
 attributed to, 17.  
 Sātavāhana coin, horse and  
 sacrificial post on, 33.  
 single bow on, 5.  
 Sidelocks still, 9.  
 Simhāsana, seat on lion, occu-  
 pied by Śrī, 15.  
 Simhavikrama, legend on coin,  
 echoes simhorusattva, 25  
 Skanda, with Devasenā, 23.  
 Skandagupta, king and queen  
 on coin of, 17.  
 Smith, Vincent, 14.

- Snakes, abode of, Fame enters,  
13
- Solar, standard, 29.  
symbol, 29.  
wheel, 29
- Sovereignty of single parasol, 9
- Sportive lotus in hand, 36.  
symbolises aesthetic taste, 37.
- Sri, carries cornucopia and  
noose, 15.  
goes from old to new lotus, 14.  
on reverse of coin, 14.  
seated on *simhāsana* as *Rājya-*  
*laksmī*, 15.
- Śrī and *Sarasvatī*, usually dwell  
apart, 18.
- Staff, adorned with pennons,  
33.
- Star, 13.
- Sudarśana* prince, 27.
- Sumitrā*, son of, accompanies  
*Viśvāmītra*, 10.
- Sun, among kings, 17.  
king of *Avanti* and, 29.  
lustrous like, 29.  
on standard on *Avanti* coin,  
29.
- Sunandā*, asks *Indumati* to be  
cowife of Prosperity and  
Learning, 18.  
description of *Aṅga* prince  
by, 18.
- Surabhi*, 5.
- Svastika*, 29.
- Svayamvara*, of *Indumati*, 36.
- Swan, symbolises sweet address,  
18.

- Taurine symbol, 29.  
 Taxila, Zionises or Jihunia of,  
 14  
 Three emblems of royalty, 18  
 Thunderbolt, in battle of Raghu  
 and Indra, 24.  
 supreme weapon, 24.  
 of Indra and bow of king,  
 protect realm, 23.  
 Tiger, emblem of Colas, 18.  
 Tree, as Kalpataru, 5  
 Truly wedded by queen and  
 Fortune, 15, 17.  
 Tumburu, 36.  
 Tvṣṭa Sun trimmed by, 29.
- Udayana. great royal musician,  
 35.  
 Ujjain symbol, 13  
 Umbrella, only, aloft, 7.  
 sign of sovereignty, 9.  
 Uttamacoḷa, coins of, 19.
- Vaihārika śilpa, Rāma adept  
 in, 35.  
 Vajrāṇabha, mighty like the  
 wielder of thunderbolt, 24.  
 Vāmana attendant, 9.  
 as contrast, 9.  
 Vāsiṣṭhīputra Pulumāvi, Bala-  
 siri's grandson, 7.  
 Vikramāditya, wins heaven by  
 good deeds, 30.  
 Vinodasthāna, 35.  
 Vīrādama, Kṣatrapa, coin of,  
 11.

Viśvāmitra, Rāma and son  
of Sumitrā accompany, 10.

Western Kṣatrapas, coins of,  
11.

Wins heaven by deeds of  
merit, 30.

With lyre on lap, 35, 36.

Word and meaning, xvi.

Wreath, goddess crowning vic-  
tor with, 14.

Yaśodharman, Mandasor, ins-  
cription of, 31.

pillar of, 31.

counts luminous objects, 31.

guides fame to heaven, 31.

measures heaven, 31.

Yaudheya coins, Brahmaṇya-  
deva on, 21.

bull and elephant on, 39.

Kārtikeya with spear on, 21.

warrior type of, 21.

Zigzag symbol, 13.

